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dancing in which both villages and other neighbouring ones participated. A year later Tagam gave a return feast to Lesu. Seiut's younger brother, Sagari, became the new chief for Tagam.

To-day, in each village the white Government appoints a man called "Lulwai," who acts as an intermediary between the natives and Government officials. In some villages the "Luluai" is a man of outstanding personality, from the family of the former fighting chief, or an *orang* of his clan and a man of real influence in the village. In other villages the choice of a "Luluai" may not be so fortunate. But even when he is a man of influence and strong personality, it is still the important old men of the clan who are the real rulers of the community. The "Luluai," if he is only a middle-aged man, is guided by them on any matter of importance.

THE FAMILY

The smallest unit based on kinship is the family, which cuts directly across the moiety and clan, since the father, as has been previously stated, is always of a different clan and moiety from those of his wife and children. On some occasions, when the clan functions as a unit, this division is brought out very clearly, as at the wedding rites of a daughter, when the mother and her clan relatives are active and the father is in the background. But, as a whole, the ties of sentiment which develop in family life are not severed. For instance, although the rule for the inheritance of property as well as status is that it comes through the female line, the former frequently comes down through the male line. Inheritance of property and of status are in quite different categories. The rule concerning status is inviolable. A child is always a member of his mother's clan and moiety. But a child may receive magical spells from his father as well as from his mother's brother or mother. Although a native informant will always tell you that the latter is the

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rule, in reality, when one studies concrete cases, as much magic is inherited in the male as in the female line. For the inheritance of property, including magic, the rule is not rigid and family sentiments frequently override clan rules.

Moreover, despite the cross-secting lines of the clan, the family has a decidedly unified life. It is the husband who clears the bush ground for cultivation, while his wife plants taro. It is he who fishes and brings the larger part of the catch to his wife. She prepares the taro for the evening meal, which they and the children enjoy together, apart from the rest of the hamlet. The mother nurses her infant, and her husband quite frequently takes care of him while she is busy in the garden, or with her cooking. By co-operation in the infinite number of details which comprise family life, the unity of the family is maintained. Finally, a man and his wife have a close affectionate and sexual life, although extra-marital intercourse is rather usual. Even wife-beating, which may cause a temporary rift, serves at the same time to assert the unity of the family; a man never beats his mistress.

CLASSIFICATORY KINSHIP SYSTEM

The kinship groups of moiety, clan, and family having been briefly sketched, it remains to describe in more detail the classificatory system of kinship. The distinctive element of any such system is that a single relationship term is applied to a large group of people and not just to one or a few individuals. The division of the society into two totemic, exogamous moieties has been noted, and the range of kinship terminology is the moiety, all the members of which are considered to be related. If, first, the principles of the system within the immediate family are grasped, it is easy to follow the more complicated extensions. The accompanying diagram of a genealogy helps to illustrate the points.

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always a taboo relationship to a man. Whether this taboo relationship is fundamentally a cross-cousin or a mother-in-law one is at present a matter of conjecture.[1]

Between cross-cousins of the same sex (*ripunga* and *ripungaina*, see terms 18 and 19) there is friendliness, cordiality, and affection. The link connecting them is the very close and affectionate mother's brother or father's sister, and there is no possibility of sex conflict, because they are of the same sex.

A mutually helpful and affectionate relationship exists between parents and children. An infant or child is cared for by the older member, and in a similar way an old, feeble member is dependent upon the younger one of the relationship.

There is also a friendly helpful and fond relationship between brothers and between sisters. A brother and sister relationship is marked by friendliness and helpfulness, but at the same time there is a semi-avoidance to insure an absence of sexual relations. Sexual play between them before puberty is prohibited, and while there is a frequent exchange of gifts and services in adult life, there are no intimacies. Conversation is limited to a minimum.

The term mother is used for the mother's sister and father for the father's brother, and a person calls his mother's, sister's, and father's brother's children by the term brother and sister (see terms 1, 2, 3, 4). Should a native's own mother be dead, his mother's sister takes her place. Similarly, if an old woman's own children are dead, her sister's children will take care of her. If a native's mother and mother's sisters are all alive, some of his duties towards the latter will remain latent. But other duties, such as assistance in garden work, will be carried out.

For the mother's brother and father's sister new terms

[1] The native word for taboo when applied to objects (and not to people) is *korul*. So whether *korup* is a kinship term in the same sense that "mother" is, or whether it is simply a word for taboo, is also uncertain.

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most often between a boy of ten or twelve and an older boy of sixteen or seventeen. It is, as far as I could observe, a kind of hero worship on the part of the younger boy. The two are companions and friends, walk around arm in arm or hand in hand, and the younger one acts as a fag to the older, obeying the orders of the latter. If the two are occupied in some joint task, such as carrying water, it is the younger who will carry the heaviest and longest bamboo trunk filled with water.[1] This division of labour is the rule among all groups of boys, whether there are pairs of friends within the group or not. The friendship between two boys of different ages is frequently found between two boys of the same clan. Lagawa, a boy of about ten years, is a member of the *Solema* clan and lives in the hamlet of Ponambatawa, at one end of the village of Lesu. At the other end of the village, in the hamlet of Penguli, lives Ladawin, a boy in his late teens and also of the *Solema* clan. Ladawin and Lagawa are very good friends. One day Lagawa came to Penguli to visit Ladawin and stayed with him in the men's house. After about a week's time, Lagawa's father came to take him home. The boy refused to go and sat on the ground sobbing. Then the father took him by the hand, but still the boy refused to rise or move. The father tried to drag him along the ground, but gave up the attempt. Ladawin and a few members of the boy's clan stood to one side and said nothing. A few other men who were there talked kindly to the boy, advising him to go home, and saying that later he could come for another visit. But the boy continued to weep and did not move. Finally, the father walked off without his son. After he had

[1] Frequently water was carried for me by a whole group of boys, particularly when I needed a large quantity for developing photographs. Each time I noticed that the smaller boys carried the heaviest loads, while the older boys brought the smallest containers. I casually mentioned the matter to one of the older boys, who took the division of tasks quite as a matter of course and did not even think it worth talking about. It was the accepted pattern between younger and older boys.

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gone Lagawa stood up, stopped crying, took Ladawin's hand, and together the two boys went to the beach. Lagawa remained at Penguli for over a month, taking part in its daily life and spending most of his time in Ladawin's company. He appeared very contented. His father did not return again for him and the boy went home a month or so later on his own initiative.

This incident is of interest from several points of view. First, it shows the friendship between a younger and older boy.[1] Second, it is an interesting example of the limits of a father's authority over his son and of the bonds between clan relatives.

If the orthodox rule of matrilocal residence is not observed, a boy frequently runs away from home to his matrilineal relatives. Under the same circumstances a girl sometimes runs away to the hamlet of her clan relatives. The parents can never compel the children to return. They come back when they feel like it, and this is regarded as normal behaviour for the children. After the incident when Lagawa's father tried to persuade him to come home, there was no discussion by any of the onlookers. When I began to talk about it, they took the attitude that the boy was "within his rights," and that the whole incident was a normal one in daily life.

Another happening throws some light on the parent-child pattern. Pulong is rather fond of gossip and loafing, and at sunset, which is pig feeding time, she is sometimes reluctant to leave my veranda, or some other place, where she has

[1] Similar pairing off of an older and younger boy was observed among non-clan relatives. There was the friendship of my cook, Sinbanimous, married, and at least in his late teens, and Malalis, a boy of about twelve. Malalis followed Sinbanimous about and they were constant companions. When I left Lesu, Sinbanimous left too, as he and his wife were returning to their own village some distance away. Malalis went with them for a long visit. As I left the island then, I do not know the further development of their friendship.

In the village there were several other such pairs of friends.

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593 been chatting enjoyably. Quite frequently her daughter, Batu, a young girl just past puberty, will tell her that it is time to feed the pigs. It must be remembered that in both the incidents just described the children had reached puberty, but, what is more important, they were behaving according to the social pattern. It was Pulong's duty to feed the pigs at this time. It is expected that children will run away from home to the place where their clan relatives live. If the child follows the social pattern, the adult, even though personally inconvenienced, has no authority to make him do otherwise.

857 535 868 Both boys and girls participate in the ritual dancing as soon as they are able to walk. Little girls of six follow behind their mothers at the dance rehearsals, and by the time they are ten or eleven participate in the dances at the rites. The boys participate similarly in the male dances. For several nights after a rite is over, very young children from about four up will be found on the beach dancing in imitation of the adult dances they have recently witnessed. The children have leaves twined around their hair and stuck in their *biuk* (arm band) just as the older dancers.

867 593 As the children learn the dances, so also do they learn the rules of kinship behaviour, even though they are not fully enforced until after puberty. Although the parents are both protectors and disciplinarians, it does not mean that there is no affection between them and their children. After a child has passed his suckling period there is not the demonstrativeness of affection between him and his parents, as there was in infancy, but that it exists is evidenced by the care lavished on the child. Sometimes I have even seen the inverse, that is, an attitude of solicitude on the part of a child for his parent. One little girl was very much worried when her father climbed a tree with its trunk slippery and wet from recent rain. Another girl was cast down and worried when her mother was ill.

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the two sexes after their separation in the preliminary rites. The unusualness of the women dancing within the enclosure of the men's house, which ordinarily they do not enter, adds to the unconventionality of the occasion. Perhaps it is by stepping outside the rules of the society that the occasion is made more significant. The period of continence following the promiscuity also contributes to the significance of the event.

The women have been a unit apart from the men, opposing the circumcision of the boys and expressing their sorrow in the dance. The men have taken the boys from their mothers, and at the end of the period of seclusion have welcomed them by the dance and by the *malanggan* rites into the masculine society. The *malanggans*, it must be remembered, are the most important ritual objects of the society and taboo to the women. It is therefore quite fitting that they be displayed on this occasion.

It has been noted that the parents and clan relatives play different roles, and how the relationship of the boys to their clan relatives is stressed at this time. It is the clan relatives who get the betel-nut and *tsera* from the members of the opposite moiety. It is particularly the maternal uncle who has featured in the rites. It is he who contributes much of the wealth necessary to hold the rites. His relationship is stressed again when his wife, and not the mother of the boy, has the opportunity of making a speech of either praise or blame about her husband.

And yet while the father does not have such an important ritual role, he is not unimportant, for it is the father and the maternal uncle who walk affectionately and encouragingly with the boy just before he enters the enclosure, and it is also the father who holds the boy during the painful operation. The relationship to the father is also emphasized when the boys come out of the enclosure and

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881 778 593 614 give tobacco and pig's fat to the father's sister.[1] The sentiments binding fathers to their boys are given full expression, even though the clan relatives may have a dominant ritual role. The mothers who are of the same clan as their sons have their role too. It is they (and not the wife of the maternal uncle) who weep and fight the men when the boys are taken into the enclosure. It is they also who have been especially zealous with contributions from their gardens and in preparing the food. While the initiation rites are of particular concern to the parents and clan relatives of the boys, the whole community is also interested and anticipates the event months in advance. The presence and participation of all the members of the community adds impressiveness to the occasion, and brings the rites to an effective and dramatic climax.

881 778 The combination of the *malanggan* rites with the initiation rites is of interest. While everyone knows that the former are for the dead, and while the figures on the carvings represent dead ancestors, the points stressed in speeches have nothing to do with the dead persons. Those making the *malanggans* tell how the right to make them has come down through their clan, how they have collected much wealth before they could be made, and how they are now making them because the boys are being initiated. The dead remain in their graves quite undisturbed. The making of *malanggans* at this time adds additional significance to the initiation rites.

882 304 The boy has been initiated and is now a full member of masculine society. He sleeps in the men's house, and while he continues to eat at home and still participates in the family life, a break has been made between him and his

[1] This might also be interpreted in another way, for these women are of the moiety of the boys' future mates, and the presentation of tobacco and pig's fat may symbolize their future relations with women of the opposite moiety.

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reasons for which is reflected in the myth of the Warawara *malanggan*.

This myth tells the tale of how some *malanggans* were being displayed, and the men were eating at a feast for them in the enclosure. They refused to let a fatherless boy (an illegitimate one in our sense) join them because he had no *tsera* and no pig. His mother has no husband from whom he can get them. The boy's mother is sorry for him, and says she will teach him how to make a new *malanggan*, so she makes the Warawara *malanggan*. When it is finished she holds a great feast.

In this tale it is the economic motive which appears to be uppermost. The boy is not invited to the feast because he has not contributed anything. However, in actual practice, as in the case of Landa's children, the clan relatives of the fatherless child and the mother would come to his aid with the necessary *tsera*. In the myth it is only the mother who comes to his aid. In discussing hypothetical cases with informants, they all told me that the clan relatives would always help these fatherless children.

FAMILY SENTIMENTS

We have seen, in general, how sexual life outside of marriage fits into the social scheme, and how it may have a certain economic significance in the family life. There remains still the question of whether it has any deeper emotional and personal significance in the life of the family. What is the attitude of the husband towards his wife's lovers? Although we find one social attitude, there is no one inflexible attitude for all husbands. In accordance with the difference in the temperament of the individuals, we find husbands taking varied attitudes toward the lovers of their wives. Some men are jealous, and some are not. Some men gladly accept the *tsera* from their wives, who have received it from their lovers,

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and there is no rift in the family. However, others, who are the exceptions rather than the rule, instead of taking the *tsera* fight the wife's lover. There is the same difference in the woman's attitude toward her husband's mistresses. Usually she acquiesces and there is no fuss. But an occasional woman fights another one who has been her husband's mistress. There are even different attitudes in the same individual. One woman told me that sometimes her husband is cross if she has a lover, and at other times he does not mind. The latter is his more usual attitude. If he is aware of the lover and is cross, the lover pays the *tsera* directly to him; at other times the lover gives it to the woman.

Jealousy thus exists, even though extra-marital relationships are sanctioned by social custom. I witnessed several jealous fights. One was between two women. Tungat, the husband of Kalumat, had for some time been having sexual relations with Matsuk, a middle-aged widow, who lives in the neighbouring village of Ambwa. She was pregnant, and said that Tungat was the father of her child. Kalumat heard of it and said she was going to Ambwa and fight Matsuk. She went, accompanied by five other Lesu women, but on arriving at the village the fight turned out to be merely a vocal one, and Kalumat announced that she was through with her husband, and would give him up to Matsuk, from whom she demanded *tsera*. There was a sharp exchange of words between the two women, but nothing really happened other than that, and Kalumat continued to live with her husband.

Another quarrel was between my own two servants. Kuserek was jealous because her husband Sinbanimous lingers on the beach near the place where all the women are filling up the bamboo stems with water. When he returned she flew into a temper and nagged him to such an extent that he was forced to beat her in order to make her keep quiet. Another time it appeared that he was jealous on her

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account. Ladawin, an unmarried youth of the village, was much around the cook-house, and, while he paid attention to Kuserek, he also seemed to be a very good friend of Sinbanimous. All appeared harmonious until one evening, when they and many others from the village were at my house singing songs which I was recording. The evening passed quietly, but at the end of it Sinbanimous grabbed a long knife (which I had given him) and dashed after Ladawin, who ran away as fast as he could. Kuserek and several people from the village ran after the two men in pursuit. They managed to catch up to Sinbanimous and take the knife from him. He returned, went to his house, and immediately fell sound asleep. I was then told that he had gone "mad" temporarily at intervals since childhood, and that these "fits" are attributable to his dead brother's spirit entering into him. He is supposed to be unconscious of what he does on these occasions. The next morning he said that he remembered nothing except that he ran after someone, but he could not recall the pretext. He was rather embarrassed by the whole incident, and did not wish to talk about it. It would seem that there might be some jealousy of Ladawin, even though it was unconscious.[1]

Another man, Lumaris, beat his wife because he was jealous and thought she was conferring favours on someone else.

Jealousy is a well-known motif in many folk-tales, as shown in the following:

> Two men make love magic to get two married women. The magic is successful, and the two women and their lovers go to the bush. After a while, when the women do not return from the bush, their husbands, armed with spears, go after them. They find the wives with their lovers and kill the latter. The two women go on

[1] This attack may have been in the nature of an epileptic equivalent.

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593 578 152 539 ahead to the village, while the husbands remain behind and cut up the bodies of the two dead men. They then strew the pieces on the footpath leading into the bush.

The next day the two women see the bones of their former lovers strewn on the footpath. They weep. Then they return home and commit suicide by hanging themselves. Pigs are killed, and the appropriate mortuary feast made by the matrilineal relatives.

It was Maredis who told me this tale, and she added afterwards that the women liked their lovers so much that when the latter died they wanted to die too. It thus illustrates attachment to a lover, as well as jealousy of a husband. The footpath on which the bones of the dead men were scattered is known to-day and was pointed out to me.

Another tale relates how two men, while out fishing, capture a sea-maiden and bring her to the men's house. She stays with them there, sleeping between the two men and having intercourse with both of them. The two wives of the men remain at their houses and knew nothing of the sea-maiden. They give the men baked taro, and the men give them some of the fish they catch, but not as much as usual.

One of the wives grows suspicious and sneaks down to the men's house, and pressing her ear to the wall hears the sea-maiden talk to the men. The wife returns and tells the other wife about it; then both women go secretly to the men's house and listen at the wall. Now they know that their husbands are sleeping with this other woman. They return to their own houses.

The next morning the two men tell the sea-maiden to remain hidden in the men's house, and, fastening the door behind them, they go with their wives to work in the gardens. The men are ignorant of the fact that their wives know about the sea-maiden. The wives

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bring taro back to the house while the men remain working in the gardens. The two women go to the men's house and find the sea-maiden hiding under the branch of a tree which the men had placed on top of her. The wives fight the sea-maiden, then go out, fasten the door, and set fire to the house. The sea-maiden is burned to death. The two men in the gardens smell the fire, and returning, find the men's house burned down. They ask their wives why they set fire to the house, and the women answer: "Ah, we know everything. Why have you hidden this woman from us?" Now the men really like their wives, but they pick up knives and kill them. Then a big mortuary feast is made.[1]

There are many other folk-tales in which men have mistresses and wives lovers, but in which there is no jealousy.

At Lesu social custom and attitude sanctions extra-marital intercourse, and accepts it as correct to such an extent that anyone not indulging in it would be considered abnormal and most unusual. This social attitude is a more

[1] Another tale concerns a woman with two husbands, one of whom is jealous. The woman shows a decided preference for one husband who has a lighter skin, to whom she gives the best food. She tells the darker-skinned one to go and eat with the pigs, and later further insults him by telling him to copulate with the pigs.

That night the two men plan to go fishing. The spurned husband lies and says that he is ill and cannot go out fishing, so the preferred mate starts out alone. The dark-skinned man then goes to the woman's house and, pretending that he is the other man, tells the woman to open the door. She does so, and is cross when she discovers who it really is that she has let into the house.

When the preferred mate returns from fishing and finds the other man in the house he is very angry and jealous and kills both him and the woman. Then the mortuary feast is made.

There is a similar tale of how the two wives of one man are jealous of a woman who has been formed out of the man's blood and who stands in the relationship of maternal niece to him. The wives insult her by telling her to eat the faeces of a pig, and the man then kills the wives in revenge. These tales are but a few in which jealousy figures as the leading, or at least one of the leading motifs.

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837 or less uniform one, to which all the individuals agree, but their personal reactions to it, when it touches them directly, vary. Thus, although the general rule was a lack of jealousy, there were enough exceptions to show once again that these Melanesians differ from each other in much the same way that individuals in our society differ. In New Ireland there is no one rigid emotional attitude followed by everyone, and instead of a simple logical pattern we find a rather complex and sometimes illogical one.[1]

593 Here, as elsewhere, much more exists in the relationship between a man and wife than their sexual life. The daily routine of their life in common has already been described in detail, so that only a brief recapitulation from this point of view is necessary. Together they share the work of taking care of the young children. Their economic labours are nicely divided. The man clears the ground and the woman plants. The man brings the wood for the fire and the woman prepares the taro to be baked. The man fishes and hunts, while the woman tends to the house, feeds the pigs, and fills up the bamboo stems with water. Although the husband and wife of necessity belong to different clans and moieties, to which each one is bound by many ties, economic and otherwise, yet their daily life in common, the sharing of the same responsibilities, their mutual affection for their children, their obedience to the same taboo during the infancy of the children, and all the little incidental ties that make up family life, develop as a rule strong sentiments of affection between the two. It is these which differentiate (among other factors) the relationship between a man and wife and a man and his temporary mistress. The latter relationship is usually merely a sexual and biological one. A woman and her lover

[1] The problem of the psychological basis of the jealousy can only be posed for further investigation at this point. That is, is the jealousy due to intense love and a resulting desire for complete and sole possession, or is it due to the feeling of inadequacy on the part of the jealous person? The same problem is still to be answered in our own society.

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have not gone together through the crises occasioned by the birth and death of children, nor watched over each other through illness, suffered together over a bad crop or rejoiced over a good one, sat around the fire and eaten their evening meal together, or shared the same one-room house for many years. Out of these is built up affection.

One can apprehend an affectionate attitude, but it is rather difficult to give the concrete details of its existence. However, in times of crises, such as illness, it is seen quite clearly. Then the mate carefully looks after the ill one and does everything possible to show his affection. This was brought out particularly during the illness of Pulong, whose baby was born prematurely and died. Pulong lost consciousness and was quite ill. No one knew whether she would live or die. She was lying on the bed inside her mother's house, and was surrounded by the women of her own and neighbouring hamlets, some of whom rubbed her with powdered lime over which magic had been said and gave other native medicines. Outside, in front of the house, Ongas her husband sat. He seemed completely isolated and alone. When the women inside wept, he too wept a little. Then he stopped weeping and just sat with bowed back, his head in his hands, a picture of great grief and loneliness. Because his wife's illness was connected with childbirth it was taboo for him to enter the house where she was lying. The other men of the hamlet, including the woman's maternal uncle, went about their business as usual. One man mended his house. Others brought in firewood and were busy with preparations for a small feast. But Ongas sat alone and apart from the others. As Luluai he must attend the feast, but it was unthinkable that he should eat in the midst of his sorrow.

Toward the end of the day eight women carried Pulong from the house where she had been lying to an empty house on the beach, because they thought it would be more com-

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fortable for her to lie on the sand which formed the floor than on the rather narrow bamboo bed. Ongas, with his daughter, went into this house and sat on the bed close to where Pulong was lying on the sand. This was the first time he had seen his wife since she gave birth to the dead infant, and he wept. Presently he got up and took the fishing-net, which stood in the corner, out of the house and put it in another house. This seemed to be merely for the sake of something to do, although there was a vague idea that the fishing-net might be in the way. Then he brought a coconut shell filled with powdered lime from the house where Pulong had been to where she now was. The other men had gone to another feast at the far end of the village, but Ongas remained at home, grieving.

The next day Pulong was a little better, and it was thought that she would live. Yesterday that was considered doubtful. Then Ongas could not talk about it, but when the danger was past he was able to tell me how terribly sad he felt yesterday when he thought his wife was going to die, and that when he thought of the future without her he did not know how he could bear it. Who would look after him? And the loss of companionship! There was no mistaking either his very real grief or his true affection for his wife. His sorrow, like all other emotions, was felt in his abdomen.

Pulong continued to improve, and in a few days' time she walked a few paces for the first time. Ongas held her affectionately by the arm and half supported her as she took a few steps on the beach. However, she quickly felt faint. The next day Ongas roamed the bush looking for sugar-cane, for which she had expressed a desire. A few days later he made a new bed for her, which he said would be more comfortable than the old one. When he was not busy getting a coconut, or sugar-cane, or performing some other service for his sick wife, he sat either in the house with her or in front. He was the perfectly devoted husband. In attendance

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also on the sick woman were her daughter and her mother's sister (who stands in the relationship of mother to her, her own mother being dead). The other women of the hamlet, when not busy in their gardens or with their cooking, sat in front of the house where the ill woman was confined.

Gradually she improved. At the end of a week she walked slowly, with the aid of a bamboo pole, to her own house, just because she wanted to look at it. This was her home, to which she was strongly attached, so she desired to see it. But the little walk left her very short-winded. After she assured herself that everything was all right in her home she returned to the beach house, where she stayed for another week before going finally to her own house. At the end of a couple of weeks she had completely recovered, except for being rather short of breath, and was again at work in the garden.

When Nunda, an old woman, was ill, her husband, Towi, showed the same kind of affectionate care of his wife as did Ongas. In all the other cases of illness which I witnessed there was this same affectionate attitude between mates.

QUARRELS

Yet this does not prevent quarrels, which sometimes grow to wife-beating between these very same mates. For a husband to beat a wife is no uncommon incident, and it happens in the happiest of marriages. It is considered a normal part of married life, and, as one native man said (as a statement of fact rather than cynically), "Beating one's wife is the custom of marriage." I witnessed many domestic quarrels, and I heard about others. There is nothing secret or intimate about a family quarrel. It is usually noisy, and both seen and heard by anyone who happens to be in the neighbourhood. It causes no surprise, and is taken as a part of the daily routine. The incidents which give rise to them are generally

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593 578 the rather small irritable pricks which happen in families anywhere in the world.

Tsuk's husband quarrelled with her because she did not cook some food when he thought it should be cooked. He spoke some angry words to her, and then hit her. She cried, left her home—which is in the hamlet of Onel—and went to her mother's house in another hamlet, Ponatlege. I saw her there, and she said she would come home when her husband came to fetch her, but not before. He said (a few days after the quarrel) that he would eventually go and get her, but was not then ready to do so. About a week later he went after her and brought her home, and all was well. This is the routine of a quarrel between mates.

Kaptan has a reputation for quarrelling very frequently with his wife, Malala. Once another man gave Kaptan a pawpaw to keep in his house until it became ripe. Malala, not knowing about this arrangement, saw that the pawpaw was ripe and ate a portion of it. While she was eating it Kaptan came up and saw her and was very angry, because, he said, the pawpaw belonged to his friend Towi, and not to him. In his anger he slapped his wife across the face. She cried and made no attempt to hit back. Her father Niknik, and her brother (classificatory) Taupis, who live in the same hamlet, came to her rescue. Niknik hit Kaptan across the back, and Taupis punched him in the nose and mouth, causing the latter to bleed. Kaptan, angrier than ever, went to the bush village from which he originally came and said that he was through with his wife and would not return to her.

Later both Niknik and Taupis went after him and each offered him two *tsera* if he would return. He refused, and said that he would stay where he was and later marry another woman. On returning, Niknik and Taupis discussed the matter with Ongas, the Luluai, asking his advice. He suggested that Kaptan and Taupis fight again, and that

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Taupis allow Kaptan to hit him on the jaw and give him a bloody nose. In this way, said Ongas, there would be a reciprocity in blows. But Taupis refused this method of reconciliation. Then Ongas said he would talk to Kaptan and see what he could do. Ongas would like Kaptan to return to Lesu because he is such a good worker and a real help in communal undertakings.

About a week later Kaptan came back to Lesu and took from his wife's father and brother the *tsera* he had originally paid for her, and also a pig they had been keeping for him. He went away, saying that he would return later, but this his wife did not believe, for, she asked, "Why did he take the *tsera* and pig if he means to return?" She then came to stay with Maerabit, of the same clan and a classificatory maternal grandmother. Ongas, in the meantime, did his best to persuade Kaptan to return, and about a week later the latter did come back. He kept the returned marriage payment, which was considered as recompense for the blows he had received. The couple began living together again.

This, I was told, is not an orthodox quarrel according to Lesu custom. All the people concerned in it are from the bush, and a father and brother coming to the aid of a woman in a quarrel with her husband is a custom of the bush villages,[1] but not of the coast people. Here a brother would be "ashamed" to interfere, and a father also would take no part in the quarrel. A maternal uncle might interfere, but not necessarily so.

Kaptan and Malala do not live long in peace. He caught some fish one day but gave none to her. He gave two to Palou, one of her clan relatives, who in turn gave one to Malala. Kaptan saw her about to eat it and was furious

[1] There were formerly villages back in the hills, but most of the people have now come down to the coast. However, a few remnants of the bush villages still remain.

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and grabbed the fish from her, saying that it was not Palou's fish but his. Kaptan's action was contrary to all customary rules of conduct, as a man always gives part of his catch to his wife. After this quarrel Malala went again to stay with Maerabit, her classificatory maternal grandmother. Eventually the quarrel was patched up and once more they lived together. The village people, in discussing the domestic quarrels of this couple, say that it is a peculiar custom of Kaptan's and not theirs, "But," they continue with a shrug of their shoulders, "what can be done about it? He is the quarrelling kind." Since every possible incident is seized upon as a cause for a quarrel, Kaptan and Malala are obviously not well mated.

Tukan and Kuta, usually a rather amiable couple, whose house was diagonally across from mine, were heard shouting angrily at each other one day in their open compound. People passing by were politely unconcerned, and seemed to pay no attention to the quarrel. It appeared that Kuta gave her husband Tukan a half string of *tsera* to purchase some native tobacco to pay the women taking part in the *Grimisi* dance at Tsuros' first menstruation rites.[1] Tukan, on his way to buy the tobacco, stopped to eat at a feast at the far end of the village. He stayed a long time at the feast, and finally returned home without the tobacco.

Then Kuta was cross. She asked angrily why he did not get the tobacco, and he replied that he had stopped to eat. She took the *tsera* from him and said that now he need not get the tobacco at all. Furthermore, she continued, she would not go to the *Grimisi* dance rehearsals any more, nor would she participate in any way in the preparations for Tsuros' feast. Tsuros is of the same clan as Tukan, and the non-appearance of his wife at her rites would reflect unfavourably on her husband. This also seemed to satisfy the martyr spirit (for she enjoyed the dance rehearsals) so

[1] Described in Chapter V.

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frequently noticed in the women in quarrels with their husbands. 578 583

So she was absent from the nightly dance rehearsals. A few days later Tukan killed a bush pig and held a feast in Tsuros' hamlet, the purpose of which was to end the quarrel between himself and his wife. Although the feast was a masculine one which Kuta did not attend, it ended the quarrel. Then she joined in the dance rehearsals and took full part in the preparations for the feast.

Quarrels between my servants Sinbanimous and Kuserek have already been mentioned. Jealousy was the cause of most of them. Kuserek was angry and jealous one night, and began to nag Sinbanimous when he returned home from a dance rehearsal. Her jealousy appeared to be directed not against any one woman in particular, but just against women in general. (She seemed always to be jealous when Sinbanimous was out of her sight.) That night she nagged him a good bit, but finally they went to sleep. The next morning she began on the same theme and gave him no peace. Then she made him do what was usually her work in bringing my breakfast to the table. She in the meantime sat on the rear of my porch with another woman. They were making cat's cradle, and laughed rather insolently and very uproariously every time Sinbanimous passed by. Finally he could stand it no longer. He came out of the cook-house with a spoon in his hand and quickly hit her over the cheek with it. She began to cry. Several women came up and sided with Kuserek. Sinbanimous seemed very much alone, as all the men appeared disinterested. Kuserek packed her few belongings and went to the hamlet of Pombumbu, where it happened that her mother's sister was visiting. Before she went I suggested that I put a dressing on the cut in her cheek, but this she refused to have done. She seemed to get a certain pleasurable sensation of martyrdom in having everyone see the blood on her cheek.

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While she was away Sinbanimous told me that his anger was over as soon as he hit her. He added that there was only one way to stop her when she began nagging and that was to beat her. She would sulk for a couple of days, and then it would be over. In discussing it further Sinbanimous added that Kuserek was really a very fine girl, but there were times when he just didn't understand her, and wished she would not talk so much. A beating was the only thing she feared.

Kuserek stayed away overnight, but returned the next day. However, the quarrel was not yet over. She did not talk to her husband, and slept at her friend Pulong's house. She insisted upon doing my laundry, although there was ritual dancing at Ponatlege to which I knew she wanted to go. I told her it was not necessary to do the washing to-day, but she replied haughtily that she would do it anyway. I think that she was again indulging her feeling of being a martyr.

A few days later they started talking casually to each other, and that night they slept together. The quarrel was over.[1]

Quarrels and beatings occur even in the household of Ongas and Pulong, who seem to be a model of quiet, happy domesticity. Ongas went fishing one night and a fish bit his foot. When he came home he told his wife and daughter about it. They thought he was joking or fooling, and

[1] As a whole Sinbanimous and Kuserek are devoted to each other and get on quite well together, except for a quarrel which occurs about once a month. One fight was really quite violent. Sinbanimous hit Kuserek, and when he stopped she egged him on, calling him foul names and saying tauntingly that she was not afraid of him, and did he think he was a strong man, and even attempting to hit back. Thus provoked he beat her again. When he stopped she continued to provoke him further, and so it went on until he threw her through the frail bamboo wall of the cook-house. She was then too exhausted to irritate him more. Her eyes were bulging, and she was transformed by anger and temper. She left immediately and went to Tarengam, a hamlet where some distant maternal relatives lived and stayed with them. But in a few days' time she returned, and all was peaceful until the next time.

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laughed. He then became very cross (his foot was paining him at the same time) and hit Pulong, who fell down on the floor. The daughter ran to the mother, trying to protect her. Pulong cried, and then both she and her daughter left home and went to the house of a classificatory mother, where they stayed for several days. They then returned home, and Ongas offered them some pig. The happy family was reunited.

Thus does happy family life continue in its not always placid course. As we have seen, quarrels arise out of jealousy, irritation over some trifle, bad humour, and such other incidental causes, and the quarrels frequently lead to the beating of the wife by the husband. However, in no beating witnessed did the husband make full use of his strength. Each time he exercised a decided self-restraint in his blows. These provided an outlet for his anger, which thus soon vanished. The woman left home immediately, giving time for the emotional storm to blow over. The few days of absence offer quiet relief and time for each to recover from the disturbance. When she returns home the quarrel and the incident causing it are completely forgotten. The air is cleared; there is no sulking; peace again pervades the household. Seen in this setting (and from the point of view of a native) wife-beating seems to be a rather workable arrangement to maintain that equilibrium necessary in family life, and not a tyrannical act of unjust brute strength which those of our culture might imagine it to be. It must be remembered also that the wife has a way of punishing her husband, for she may expose him to ridicule in her speeches at various rites. At the marriage and birth feasts I listened to the women making speeches about the ability or lack of it that their husbands displayed in providing them with food. Ridicule was the sharp weapon directed against the lazy man.

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CHAPTER IX

THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY

FAMILY *VERSUS* CLAN SENTIMENTS

183 IN our observation of the behaviour of the Lesu people we
593 have noted social patterns and at the same time variations
614 from them. But a distinction must first be made within the social patterns themselves. Some are highly ritualized and others are non-ritual. Most of the ritualized behaviour is concerned with the clan and the moiety. It is the clan and moiety members which function as a unit at marriage, death, and other important rites. While family life follows along more or less customary procedure, there is very little ritual connected with it. Family sentiments are apparently so strong and fundamental that they do not need ritual to reinforce them or to make them into behaviour patterns. On the other hand, ritual seems to be necessary to keep clan sentiments active. The family non-ritualized sentiments sometimes even override the clan's highly standardized rules, as when a father frequently teaches his magical spells to his son rather than to his maternal nephew. Or the family sentiments may sometimes function more actively than the clan standardized ones. When Pulong was ill, her husband was much more concerned and worried than her brother, although, if she had died, the latter would have had charge of the mortuary rites. The sentiments which develop in the family seem to be stronger and perhaps more fundamental than those which surround the clan. For the family sentiments exist unaided by ritual, while the clan ones apparently must have the ritual.

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FORMATION AND FUNCTIONING OF SOCIAL PATTERNS

It is fairly easy to pick out the social patterns and see how they have been formed. All the units of the social organization—the family, clan, moiety, village, hamlet—are agents in the socialization of the individual, and these same units foster the social patterns of behaviour and the social sentiments which underlie them. For instance, the principle or sentiment of reciprocity functions through the ritual exchange of gifts between members of different clans, moieties, and villages. Within the family, too, the same principle of reciprocity functions in the exchange of services between mates, as it does also in the exchange of currency for sexual favours in extra-marital relationships. The clan regulates maternal descent and inheritance and matrilocal residence, which set certain patterns of behaviour. The clan also provides the structure for much of the political and economic organization, in that it is the important old men of each clan who are the leaders of the community. Again, it is the members of a clan who share in joint economic responsibilities. The maternal uncle takes the responsibility for providing feasts for his sister's children during their infancy. It is the clan relatives of a groom who assist him in collecting the marriage payment, and it is the bride's clan relatives who receive the payment. In a similar way, it is the clan relatives of a dead person who take the responsibility of providing the proper mortuary rites. The family, too, functions as an economic unit on a smaller scale. It is also the family, clan, and moiety which give form to the kinship system, for a native receives his place in the kinship system through his position in these groups. So one could continue almost indefinitely to show how institutions by their particular form provide the mould for social patterns of behaviour.

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but also to sincerely believe in it. This is one social pattern in which everyone seems to participate.

Kinship patterns of behaviour have always been supposed to be most rigid, but these, too, on close examination, reveal many variations, which appear to be based mainly on individual desires and temperamental differences. It happens but rarely that a man marries his mother's brother's daughter (the preferred marriage), but he does follow the pattern sufficiently to usually marry someone in the generation below him. But there are even exceptions to this. One man in Lesu married a woman in the generation above him—his mother's mother's brother's daughter, who is in the same generation as his mother. There are many reasons for the non-marriage of the cross-cousin's daughter. She may be married already; the parents of either her or the man may have arranged another betrothal very early in their infancy; or either the girl or the man may simply prefer another mate.

Again, there is the pattern of behaviour between a man and his sister which, among other things, does not permit a man to make sexual jokes about a woman in front of her brother. Yet, as has been described, the old man Towi is constantly doing just this, much to the disgust of others. Other natives, in talking about it, say that it is an unpleasant peculiarity of Towi's which they accept but cannot understand. He is a moderately important old man in his clan, but his love of what to the native would correspond to our obscenity detracts somewhat from his prestige. But he goes gaily on.

We know also from folk-tales and from stories about men who have lived recently that the incest taboo between members of the same moiety is occasionally broken. Individual desires thus sometimes break through the most rigid and the very strongest social pattern of behaviour, even though death is the penalty. Another kinship pattern is that

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differs from individual to individual, and which is an interesting variant from the usual social pattern. Extra-marital relationships are the accepted social rule, and I heard of no relatively young married man or woman who did not follow this pattern, and therefore, logically, one would not expect to find jealousy. But jealous fights occur frequently. One woman, Tungat, fought another woman to whom her husband was paying attention. Lumaeris beat his wife because he was jealous of the favours she was conferring on another man. Other men and women express no jealousy and seem to feel none, accepting the social pattern as a matter of course. But always there are those who do not.

In a similar way does married life vary in its tenor. While wife-beating is the rule in all marriages, the general tenor and attitudes in marriage differ. There is the affectionate and sympathetic life in some marriages, as that of Ongas and Pulong, as contrasted with the endless and petty bickering between Malala and Kaptan. It is true that all marriages are according to the same patterns, but each varies according to the personality of the mates, much as they do in our own society.

In Lesu, while each individual identifies himself with the group, the family, clan, moiety, etc., and is a part of it, yet at the same time each individual is also unique from other individuals, and he is able to express his uniqueness or individuality, whether it be a special skill in fishing, a natural wit and gaiety, a tolerant or a jealous attitude. He participates in the social pattern, but not exclusively in any other pattern. Sometimes he can express himself at no cost to the social pattern, and at other times he is in opposition to it. But the point is that he is able to express his personal idiosyncrasies, his own temperament, even his non-conforming—to a certain degree[1]—and still remain a part of the group.

[1] But, of course, such non-conformity, as a breach of incest taboo, is not tolerated and is punished by death.

2: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-30)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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the *tinuato* wanders around near the place of death and makes its presence known by a low whistle. Although it has no malignant qualities, it is regarded with great fear.

There is no belief in life after death (except for the ghost), in rewards or punishments, or in any deity. It is interesting to observe that for the missionised native it is the *tinuato* which goes to hell, and it is this also which has become the Christian soul.

These people, until very recently, were cannibals. All the adults of the community in which I lived had been cannibals before the white government stopped the practice. But it was only the bodies of enemies killed in warfare which were eaten, and never the body of a friend, relative, or member of the same village. As far as could be ascertained, there was no theory of imbibing the strength of the enemy warrior. It was merely another meat dish in a diet which was mostly vegetable.[4]

Cremation rather than burial was formerly practised, but as far as could be learned there has been no change in the rites. In the past the body was burned and the bones buried. The cemeteries existed then just as they do to-day—each hamlet with its own. In the rites to-day cremation is simply omitted and the whole body is buried instead of just the bones, as in the past.[5]

The following description, covering the three chronological periods, brings out the divisions among the survivors who are grouped according to their kinship to the dead person, their degree of mourning and their responsibility for the rites.

PREPARATIONS BEFORE DEATH

In the period immediately preceding death there is even then a selection of certain relatives who will perform special duties towards the dying person. It is always the parents or children who take care of the sick person. Before death occurs, it is to the house of the parents or children that the patient is moved. The spouse is very attentive also, and the rest of the community show their interest by cooking in the hamlet of the sick person and by dis-

[4]However, one can never completely trust information gathered from hearsay only, and with no opportunity to observe the phenomenon itself.

[5]White control is responsible for the change.

2:Powdermaker E-5 (1929-30)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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continuing dance rehearsals. A woman just past middle age named Kawitti died rather unexpectedly. The night before her death she left her husband's house and went to her sister's son's house close by. Her own son was away at a distant village. Two other old women, one of whom did die, while the other recovered, went immediately to the houses of their respective daughters. Two younger women who were very ill went to their respective mother's house. In each case the mother or the daughter affectionately cared for the sick person. But this did not prevent the husband of a sick woman from being attentive also. When Pulong was ill her husband roamed the bush looking for delicacies such as sugar cane, or made a new bamboo bed for her, or supported her while she sat up. When Nunda, an old woman, was ill and expected to die all the women of the neighbouring hamlets brought their cooking to the compound in front of the house where she was lying. The night before the death of a young man, Waketei, the women of the village did not have their dance rehearsal, which had been held nightly for the past month. In one case, that of the death of the old woman, Maling, preparations for the mortuary feast were begun before she actually died. Her grandson in the female line went to a nearby village where the fishing was very good and made arrangements to secure a large catch for the expected mortuary feast.

BURIAL

Immediately the death occurs the rites begin in earnest. Wailing starts at the moment life leaves the body. While everyone in the community wails, there is a difference in the intensity and duration of their wailing. The consort, the parents, the children are the chief mourners and wail the most. Next come the other clan relatives, and after them the rest of the village.[6]

The wailing is interrupted by the carrying of the corpse to the sea to be washed. This is always done by people of the same sex

[6]Should the children be absent at the time of the death, they return with all possible haste. The members of the same clan as the dead native will travel (walk) to distant villages for the funeral, sometimes as much as thirty or forty miles. Their consorts frequently accompany them, but it is always clear that these are in the position of satellites.

3:Chinnery G, E-5 (1929)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

551 During the taking of this pedigree the sister's name and her presence
593 were strongly avoided. Other terms avoided were the father's sister's daughter, father's sister's son's wife, the mother's brother's wife, the wife's mother, and a woman avoids her brother and his name; the wife's brother and the wife's father do not appear to be avoided.

837 In this village it was said that small groups of men and women
572 were friendly to one another even to the extent of exchanging wives. This is now dying out with the coming of mission influence. The last group of the kind consisted of the following men and their wives:—Langiaun (male), Sagarin (female); Lile (male), Lubun (female); Marangas (male), Kesiga (female); Eangulin (male), Narong (female). Each man had access to each woman, and the groups lived happily together. Marangas then went to work on the gold-fields leaving Kesiga with his group friend Eangulin. After a short time, Eangulin found he liked Kesiga better than his wife, Narong, so he gave Narong to the Luluai of the village, Lega—who did not belong to the group at all—and stole Kesiga. Narong afterwards died. When Marangas returned from the gold-fields, and found that Eangulin had stolen Kesiga and did not want to give her up, he was very angry, and withdrew from the group altogether, marrying another woman.
582 The group then broke up. It was stated in the village that marriage with the mother's brother's widow is allowed, but that marriage with the daughter of the father's sister's daughter is prohibited. There was one instance of marriage with the deceased wife's sister. I omitted an inquiry as to marriage with the daughter of the mother's brother's daughter.

601 The next pedigree was taken at Pinigindu, and the following relationship terms were recorded:—

Tamak.—Father; father's brother; mother's sister's husband.

Nanga.—Mother; father's brother's wife; mother's sister.

Emanda Karak.—Son.

Nimugu.—Father's sister; brother's son (woman speaking); father's sister's daughter's daughter.

Nak.—Father's sister's husband; wife's brother's son; husband of father's sister's daughter's daughter.

Tata.—Mother's brother.

Noiak.—Sister's son; sister's daughter.

Nasong.—Mother's brother's wife; husband's sister's son.

Koko.—Father's sister's daughter; mother's brother's son (woman speaking); daughter of father's sister's daughter's daughter.

Masikogup.—Father's sister's daughter's husband; wife's mother's brother's son.

Wepaguna or *Kogup.*—Mother's brother's son.

5: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1932 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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At other times the exchange may be effected at the same feast. In the same 574
way, men of Libba will eat at a feast at Lesu, and later the Lesu men will 621
eat at a Libba feast. A feast thus provides the occasion when both individuals and groups pay off their obligations.

Feminine Speeches about Husbands

At the ritual feasts of circumcision, birth, and marriage, another custom 537
is given an opportunity for expression. At these feasts it is customary for 574
the women to make speeches about their husbands, as good or bad food- 573
providers. The food is arranged in two piles, one contributed by the Eagle 626
moiety, and the other by the Hawk. The Eagle women come on the scene together, each brandishing a masculine implement of work—a fishing net, a spade, etc. They circle around the pile of food contributed by the Hawk moiety, each woman in turn holding up a tool and making a speech about her husband. If she carries a net, she talks about his industry in fishing and how he very often brings her fish. Or she may say the opposite,—how lazy he is. Each woman makes her speech, and the "audience," male and female, listens to it with quiet appreciation. There are grins and chuckles during a speech about a lazy man, while he hangs his head in shame. When the women of one moiety have finished, the other women enter and go through the same procedure. The speeches show very clearly how much the man's prestige in his family depends upon his ability as a provider of food. These ritual feasts give the women the opportunity of publicly praising or blaming their husbands and they never let it pass by.

Daily Meals

Feasts are of course not the only time when natives eat. When they get 264
up at sunrise, they will eat a cold baked taro left over from the day before. But this is not a meal. The man will often munch his taro as he strolls about the beach, while the woman will eat her's casually as she tidies the house or collects her implements, baskets, etc. to go to the garden. In the middle of the afternoon, when they have returned from the gardens, if hungry, another cold baked taro will be eaten casually. But after the sun has set there is the family meal. The food for this is sometimes prepared by the wife, or wife and daughter together, and at other times the women of the hamlet may cook communally. The baked food is later taken to each individual household. There, in the open compound in front of the house, each family gathers around the fire and partakes of the common meal. Certainly this meal emphasizes the unity of the family and tends to foster those sentiments which hold the family together—just as the feasts keep alive the sentiments binding larger groups.